

Interactional Dimensions of Japanese *TE* in Collaborative Storytelling

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1. Introduction

In the Japanese *-TE* form, a non-finite form serves the function of ‘clause chaining’ (Hasegawa (1996a, 1996b); Morita (2001); Watanabe (1994); Iwasaki (1993); Myhill and Hibiya (1988)). Traditionally, the *-TE* form has been said to occur in a ‘clause 1 (C1) *-TE* + clause 2 (C2)’ construction and has a temporal meaning indicating that C1 has occurred before C2 (Kuno (1973)). It is true however that this sort of analysis has not thoroughly dealt with the interactional dimensions of the Japanese *-TE* form. This study aims therefore to explore such dimensions in the context of collaborative storytelling, drawing on the framework of a turn-taking system (Sacks et al. (1974)).

2. Overview of the *-TE* form

2. 1. Traditional Explanation of the Japanese *-TE* form

According to Kuno (1973: 195), the *-TE* gerundive form “originates from the perfect tense auxiliary *TARI* of classical Japanese, from which the perfect tense suffix *-TA* of the present-date Japanese is also derived.” The author claims that the *-TE* form has occurred in a ‘clause 1 (C1) *-TE* + clause 2 (C2)’ construction. Here is an example to consider:

- (1) *John wa uwagi o nui-de(te) hangaa ni kaketa.*
 jacket take off hanger on hung
 ◀----- Clause 1 -----▶ ◀----- Clause 2 -----▶
 ‘John took off his jacket and put it on a hanger.’ (Kuno (1973: 195))

The above sentence constitutes two clauses: '*John wa uwagi o nuide (te)*' (John took off his jacket) (C1) and '*hangaa ni kaketa*' (put it on a hanger) (C2). Focusing on C1, *TE* is placed in this clause; it is also combined with the verb inflection '*nu-i*' (take off) which this study calls the verb inflection plus *TE*, the *-TE* form (e.g. Ono (1990)). The basic function of *TE* resembles the English conjunction 'and,' *TE* then connects C1 with C2.

The *-TE* form



This fact indicates two findings: *TE* is put in C1 and combines with the prior verb inflection; and *TE* connects C1 with C2.

Kuno (1973) demonstrates that the 'C1-*TE* + C2' construction involves two circumstances: (1) it has a temporal meaning that 'C1 has taken place before C2' and (2) it cannot be used when two simultaneous actions or states are involved. Adopting these criteria to example (1), C1, '*John wa uwagi o nuide*' (John took off his jacket and) should occur before C2, '*hangaa ni kaketata*' (put it on a hanger). The action of first taking off his jacket in C1 cannot occur simultaneously with 'putting it on a hanger' in C2. It is possible to account for such perspectives in more detail by looking at the other form. Kuno mentions that the *-I* continuative form of verbs is similar to the *-TE* form in meaning. Although the *-TE* form connotes 'V and then' or 'having V-ed,' this connotation is not available in the *-I* form. See the following examples:

- (2) a. *John wa yoku asob-i yoku benkyoosuru.*
 well play well study
 'John plays a lot and studies a lot.'
 b. **John wa yoku ason-de yoku benkyoosuru.* (Kuno (1973: 95))

The *-I* form accepts two simultaneous actions as 'John both plays and studies a lot' in example (2a), while example (2b) is ungrammatical because the *-TE* form cannot be used when such two actions occur at the same time. Example (2b) would be grammatical only if it appeared as 'John

studies a lot after he plays a lot.’ This example displays that the *-TE* form indicates ‘V and then’ or ‘having V-ed,’ while the *-I* form lacks such a perspective. It is thus clear that the *-TE* form cannot accept two simultaneous actions or states.

2. 2. Isolation of the *-TE* form

Contrary to the presupposition that *TE* connects with a prior verb inflection, this study will display evidence illustrating the opposite: that the *-TE* form is isolated. The following excerpt originates in a conversation between a teacher and student collected through our database:¹

(3) J13 (Teacher × Student)

- 1 R: *doo shi yoo*
 what do will
 ‘(she says to herself) “oh, what should (I) do?”’
- 2 L: *keizui [te]*,
 find: and
 ‘(he) finds himself and,’
- 3⇒R: *[te], soshite, tori ni iku n desu yo ne*
 and and take to go N CP FP FP
 ‘and, and (he) is going to pick up (the stick), isn’t (he)?’

R (line 3) produces the isolated *TE* rather than a non-isolated form. There is a need to give an account of such a use.

This study thus shifts from the traditionally grammatical perspective to the more interactional dimensions of *TE*. Notice that the *-TE* form in example (1) is produced by one speaker while *TE* in example (3) is achieved through the interactions of co-participants. I shed light on exploring such perspectives and hope to address the interactional dimensions of the use of *TE* that have heretofore been inadequately addressed.

3. Conversational Analytic Approach

In order to verify the interactional dimensions of the *-TE* form, this study draws on the turn-taking system formulated by Sacks et al. (1974). This system focuses on four features: ‘Turn Constructional Units’ (TCUs), ‘projectability,’ ‘collaborative productions’ and ‘anticipatory completion.’

Although such frameworks may derive mostly from English phenomena, Tanaka (1999: 59) notes that “however different the local linguistic or cultural differences may be between Anglo-American and Japanese conversation, the basic workings of the turn-taking rules remains essentially the same.” Due to Tanaka’s analysis this study also supports such a perspective and draws upon those frameworks.

3. 1. Turn Constructional Units

‘Turn Constructional Units’ (TCUs) are basic features of the turn taking system. Sacks et al. (1974) describe them as follows:

There are various unit-types with which a speaker may set out to construct a turn.

Unit-types for English include sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions.

Instances of the unit-types so usable allow a projection of the unit-type under way,

and what, roughly, it will take for an instance of that unit-type to be completed.

(Sacks et al. (1974: 702))

Following the authors’ description, Tanaka (1999) defines the TCUs as “minimal units out of which a turn can be formed” (Tanaka (1999: 27)). This study generally follows the definition provided by these two earlier studies.

3. 2. Projectability

‘Projectability’ is one significant characteristic of the TCUs. Sacks et al. (1974: 702) define the projectability as “sequentially appropriate starts by next speakers after turns composed of single-word, single-phrase, or single-clause constructions, with no gap i.e., with no waiting for possible sentence completion.” Following this description, this study defines ‘projectability’ as including “features of the unit which allow participants to anticipate or predict where an instance of the unit will come to an end” (Tanaka (1999: 27)).

3. 3. Collaborative Productions

Sacks (1992) has introduced the term ‘collaborative productions’ within the context of “people collaborat[ing] in the production of a single sentence” (Sacks (1992: 321); ‘co-participant completion’ in Lerner (1991)).² Lerner provides the following example:

(4) Collaborative Productions

1 David: so if one person said he couldn’t invest

2 (.)

3⇒Kerry: then I’d have ta wait (Lerner and Takagi (1999: 53))

David produces an utterance-in-progress and this if-clause is a preliminary component that anticipates a following form to complete the utterance (line 1). Following David’s turn Kerry forms a final component, ‘then,’ and finishes the utterance (line 3). This instance indicates how co-participants might collaboratively produce a single sentence or an utterance. I generally follow such perspectives in that the collaborative productions are crucially related to explore the interactional dimensions of isolated *TE* in collaborative storytelling.

As these studies are based on English phenomena, a separate analysis must be undertaken in Japanese (e.g. Ono and Yoshida (1996); Hayashi and Mori (1998); Lerner and Takagi (1999)). Ono and Yoshida (1996) have claimed that Japanese speakers do not perform the collaborative productions because such syntactic units are not very common in that language. In addition, the authors have observed that such productions by co-participants do not occur from the viewpoint of ‘private territory’ (Kamio (1994)). They suggest that, “. . . to Japanese speakers, it seems impolite to finish another speaker’s sentence or to provide additional information unexpressed by the first speaker” (Ono and Yoshida (1996: 120)). Motivated by this study, Hayashi and Mori (1998) have reconsidered the Japanese collaborative productions by focusing on a distinctively Japanese characteristic called a ‘verb-final language’ (Hayashi and Mori (1998: 77)). This is when a verb or predicate is put in the final position of the sentential unit. They have concluded that participants in Japanese conversations achieve the collaborative productions when a participant supplies a verb or predicate that “fits

into the emerging structure of another participant's talk" (Hayashi and Mori (1998: 77)). The authors have also suggested that a speaker's private territory does not specify itself as a predetermined structure, but rather that what once belonged to the private territory of the participant can become 'shareable' by virtue of interactive processes, and that such processes facilitate resources for co-construction of utterances. The present data contains many cases for such collaborative productions. This study thus generally follows on observations performed by Hayashi and Mori (1998).

3.4. Anticipatory Completion

'Anticipatory completion' (Lerner (1991, 1996); Lerner and Takagi (1999)) is intimately connected with the collaborative productions outlined above. Going back to example (4), anticipatory completion is found in these utterances. That is, the co-participant, Kerry, links her production with the if-clause and successfully performs the anticipatory completion. In addition to this anticipatory completion, the current study will also use another type of turn, what I call 'anticipatory continuation.' See the following excerpt of a conversation between students from our database:

(5) J2 (Student × Student)

- 1 R: [*soo su-*,
so do
'(should we) d-'
- 2 L: [*atama o, poyaan tte [toboo to omottara,*
head OP MIM QT jump QT thought: if
'when (he) was going to jump over (the other's) head,'
- 3 R: [*te,*
QT
'and,'
- 4 L: [*chiisa sugite tsuburecha [tte,*
small too much squish: and
'(the head) was so small, and (it) was squished and,'
- 5⇒R: [*te::,*
and
'and,'
- 6 R: [*tsubureta kekka o mite,*
clashed result OP see: and

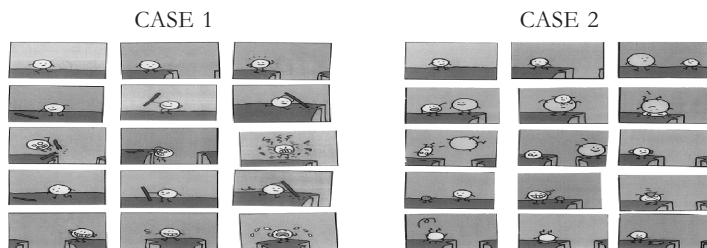
- ‘(he) saw the result of squishing and,’
 7 L: [*aka, nanka, akaku nacchatte,*
 red like red become: and
 ‘(the other) turned into red and,’

After the form that is co-produced by L and R (lines 2 and 5), the co-participants do not complete the utterance, but instead continue turns through the uses of the *-TE* form (lines 6 and 7). The present study will discuss some cases illustrating such ‘anticipatory continuation.’

4. Data

The data consists of 220 minutes of videotaped tasks in which twenty-four Japanese female dyads collaboratively constructed stories based on fifteen cartoon cards.³ Basically, they could rearrange the story as freely as they liked. The data was collected at the Japanese Women’s University in Tokyo in 2004. Two types of dyads were used: two university students who were friends, or a teacher and university student who had not previously met. The participants were Japanese native speakers living around Tokyo.

Given the process of data collection, there were two types of picture cards from a cartoon book, ‘Mister O’ (Trondhein (2004)), which includes cartoons without any written discourse. Case 1 was the dyad between teacher and student (out group) and Case 2 was the dyad between students (in group).



5. Interactional Dimensions of the Isolated *TE*

I discover two uses of the Japanese *-TE* form in collaborative storytelling:

prototypical cases and deviation.

5. 1. Prototypical Cases

There are two types of prototypical cases in relation to the anticipatory continuation: one is what I call ‘co-participants’ continuation’ and the other is termed as ‘recipient’s continuation.’ The former is identified as two co-participants collaboratively continuing their turns after producing *TE*, while the latter indicates that the recipient continues her turn after the production of *TE*.

5. 1. 1. Co-participants’ Continuation

The following excerpt is part of a conversation for problem solving between students (in group). L makes the proceeding proposal to rearrange the story (line 1) and then both participants co-construct the proposal (from line 2):

(6) J14 (Student × Student)

- 1 L: *soo da soo da, bikkurikae [tte]*,
 so CP so CP turn over: and
 ‘look, look, ((L pops up the proposal)), (he) turns over and,’
- 2⇒R: *[tte]*,
 and
 ‘and,’
- 3 L: *[poon te itte]*,
 MIM QT go: and
 ‘(he) goes and,’
- 4 R: *[poon te yutte]*,
 MIM QT go: and
 ‘(he) goes and,’
- 5 L: a, *koo yareba ii n da tte [yutte]*,
 oh this way do: if good N CP QT say: and
 ‘(he) thinks, “oh, (I) will do like this” and,’
- 6 R: *[tsutte]*,
 say: and
 ‘(he) says and,’

L suddenly rearranges the story and says to herself ‘*sooda, sooda*’ (look, look); she then uses the *-TE* form, ‘*bikkurikae tte*’ (turn over and). Consid-

ering the projectability of R's use of *TE* (line 2), R anticipates that *TE* will come next prior to L's production of the verb inflection '*bikekurikae*' (turn over); she then accomplishes an isolated *TE* (line 2) overlapping with L's production of *TE* (line 1). This isolated *TE* is then produced through two co-participants' interactions.

Triggered by the isolated *TE* (line 2), both co-participants continue their turns (after line 3). Both co-participants overlap and simultaneously repeat the proceeding utterance as '*poon te itte*' ((he) goes and) (lines 3 and 4). L's utterance (line 3) follows that of line 1, while R's utterance (line 4) follows her prior utterance (line 2). Both participants overlap and continue their turns vis-a-vis the use of the *-TE* form in the final position, as '*yutte*' ((he) says and) (lines 5 and 6). Deduced from this excerpt and throughout the projection of the *-TE* form, both participants successfully achieve the collaborative productions, keeping pace with one another in the process.

Here is another similar instance. The following excerpt is equivalent to excerpt (5) above as both are part of a conversation between students (in group). These two students are in the midst of making a new proposal to rearrange the story:

(7) J2 (Student × Student)

- 1 R: [*soo su-*
so do-
'(should we) d-'
- 2 L: [*atama o, poyaan tte* [*toboo to omottara,*
head OP MIM QT jump QT thought: if
'when (he) was going to jump over (the other's) head,'
- 3 R: [*te,*
QT
'—',
- 4 L: [*chiisasugite tsuburecha* [*tte,*
too small: and squish: and
'(the head) was so small and (it) was squished and,'
- 5⇒R: [*te::,*
and
'and,'
- 6 R: [*tsubureta kekka o mite,*

- squished result OP see: and
 ‘(he) saw the result and,’
- 7 L: [*aka, nanka, akaku nachatte*,
 red like red become: and
 ‘(the other) turned into red and,’

L is going to make a new proposal by employing the *-TE* form in her final position, evidenced in ‘*tsuburechatte*’ (squished and) (line 4). Following L’s utterance, R joins L’s utterance and twice overlaps it using the quotative marker, ‘*te*’ (line 3) and the isolated *TE* (line 5). Focusing on this line for a moment, L’s production of the verb inflection ‘*tsuburecha-*’ (squish) (line 4) leads into R’s anticipation that L is going to subsequently produce the *-TE* form; R then jointly produces the isolated *TE* (line 5) overlapping with L’s production of *TE* (line 4). Notice how this *TE* is isolated contrary to the *-TE* form. Triggered by this isolated *TE*, both R and L overlap and continue their turns (after line 6). More specifically, R’s turn (line 5) connects with the proceeding turn (line 6) as ‘*tsubureta kekka o mite*’ ((he) saw the result and), while L’s turns (lines 2 and 4) proceeds to the turn as ‘*aka nanka, akaku nacchatte*’ ((the other) turned into red and) (line 7). Both uses of the *-TE* form (lines 6 and 7) indicate that their utterances will continue in the ensuing turn because these forms are put in the final position of each clause. Comparing this with excerpt (6) above, each participant constructs the form differently and continues her turn in this overlapping manner (lines 6 and 7 in excerpt (7)); co-participants in excerpt (6) propose and construct the same utterance in the overlapping section of lines 3 to 6 (such as ‘*poon te itte*’ ((he) goes and) and ‘*yutte*’ (say and)). This excerpt displays how, if invited by the first participant L, the recipient R then anticipates the projection of *TE*. She jointly achieves the isolated *TE* overlapping with L’s prior production. In addition, as triggered by this isolated *TE*, both co-participants continue their utterances with overlapping turns.

The following is the overall structure of the co-participants’ continuation. A is the first speaker and B is the recipient. A constructs the *-TE* form in the first line. Triggered by A’s verb inflection, the recipient B achieves the isolated *TE* overlapping with A’s production of *TE*. Subsequent to this both participants continue to construct turns.

Co-participants' Continuation

A: *TE*
 B: ⇒ *TE*
 (Isolation)

A:
 B:

----- To Continue Turns

To sum up, I have clarified that the isolated *TE* is collaboratively produced through the interactions of the co-participants: the participants continue to overlap their turns and keep pace with one another. The next section will convey another prototypical case, namely the recipient's continuation.

5. 1. 2. Recipient's Continuation

This section begins with a similar example. The following is part of a conversation regarding problem solving as held between a teacher and student (out group). They are in the midst of rearranging the story and have a problem about how they will make a new proposal:

(8) J13 (Teacher × Student)

- 1 R: *doo shi yoo*
 what do will
 '(she says to herself) "oh, what should (I or we) do next?"'
- 2 L: *kizui [te]*,
 find: and
 '(he) finds himself and,'
- 3⇒R: *[te], soshite, tori ni iku n desu yo ne*
 and and take to go N CP FP FP
 'and, and (he) is going to pick up (the stick), isn't (he)?'
- 4 R: *yosbi, mitsukatta, mitaina, de, totte,*
 right found like and pick up: and
 '(he thinks) "Okay, (I) 've found (it)", and (he) picks (it) up and,'
- 5 R: *omo sooni motte mottete,* =
 heavy seem have: and have: and
 '(he) has, has (it) heavily and,'
- 6 L: = *hai*
 yes

‘yes’

R is at a loss about how she should make a new section of the story. She asks: ‘*doo shi yoo*’ (what should (I or we) do next?) (line 1). After R’s confusion, L makes a new proposal through the *-TE* form ‘*kizuite*’ (find and). Following L’s verb inflection ‘*kizui-*’ (find), R predicts that the next utterance will be in the *-TE* form and then achieves the collaborative productions with L. Overlapping with L’s prior production of *TE* (line 2), R jointly produces the isolated *TE* (line 3). She then expands the proposal in the phrase ‘*soshite, tori ni iku n desu yo ne*’ ((he) is going to pick up (the stick), isn’t (he)?) (line 3). It seems that R superficially completes her turn from ‘utterance-final elements’ (Tanaka (1999)), which indicate “syntactic completion regularly [that] involves the attachment at the terminal boundary of the turn, [and has] elements such as verb-following suffixes, copulas, and final particles” (Tanaka (1999: 86)). Shifting to the following turns (after line 4) however, R continues her turns and makes a proposal. It seems that the recipient R finally expands her utterance when triggered by the collaborative productions of *TE* with another co-participant.

The following excerpt is part of a conversation between students (in group). They are in the midst of making a new proposal:

(9) J8 (Student × Student)

1 R: *wara tte* [*miyoo tte kanji ni na [tte]*,
go across: and try QT feeling to become: and
‘like (they) decided to go across (the cliff) and,’

2 L: [*un un*
yeah yeah
‘yeah yeah’

3⇒L: [*te*],
and
‘and,’

4⇒L: *te, konoko wa watarezu,*
and this boy TP go across: and
‘and this one cannot go across and,’

R begins to make a new proposal for the story in the phrase ‘*waratte miyoo*

tte kanji ni natte 'like (they) decided to go across the cliff and) (line 1). In the midst of R's turn, L first acknowledges R's utterance by the use of backchannels '*un, un*' (yeah, yeah) (line 2). Following R's verb inflection, '*na-*' (become) (line 1), L anticipates that R is going to produce *TE* next and collaboratively produces *TE* with R (lines 1 and 3). As a result of this, L achieves the isolated *TE* (line 3). She subsequently repeats the isolated *TE* (line 4) and then expands her proposal in '*konoko wa watarezu*' (this one cannot go across and). Focusing on the lexical item '*watarezu*' (cannot go across and) (line 4), this use indicates that the speaker's turn will continue next because the use of '*zu*' (not) in Japanese signals that the turn has not ended. From this perspective, L is first invited to partake in R's utterance through the projection of *TE*, and then produces the isolated *TE*. L eventually continues the turn and adds a new proposal. That is to say that she successfully achieves the anticipatory continuation.

The overall structure of the recipient's continuation is examined below: first speaker A constructs the *-TE* form. Motivated by A's prior verb inflection, the recipient B anticipates and produces the isolated *TE* overlapping with A's production of *TE*. B then constructs her forthcoming turn. This procedure is basically equivalent to the co-participants' continuation as mentioned above. The difference between the former and the present derives from the ensuing production. In short, in the recipient's continuation (after the isolated *TE*) it is only the recipient who continues taking the subsequent turn. In the case of the first speaker, A stops her turn after producing the *-TE* form (in the first line) following the recipient's affiliation to the utterance. After the recipient makes the isolated *TE*, both participants jointly engage in constructing turns.

Recipient's Continuation

A: *TE* #

B: ⇒ *TE*
(Isolation)

B:

To Stop the Turn

From these two examples, I have illustrated another prototypical case of isolated *TE*. This sequential process indicates how co-participants collaboratively deal with this sort of problem solving vis-à-vis the use of the isolated *TE*. This study will explore some deviant uses of the isolated *TE* below.

5.2. Deviation

Contrary to the prototypical cases above, the following cases are categorised as deviant in that another co-participant hooks onto the prior utterance despite the fact that the first participant has ended her utterance. The following excerpt is part of a conversation between a teacher and student (out group). They are in the midst of making a new proposal for the story but are at a loss as to how they should proceed:

(10) J23 (Teacher × Student)

- 1 R: *doo shi yoo ka tte kangaeru n desu yo ne* (8.0)
 what do will QP QT think N CP FP FP
 ‘(he) thinks what (he) should do, doesn’t (he)?’
- 2 R: *uun, sorede modotte kite,*
 uhm and then return: and come: and
 ‘uhhhm, (he) comes back and,’
- 3 R: *boo o, boogire o mitsukete,*
 stick OP stick fragment OP find: and
 ‘(he) finds a stick, a fragment of the stick and,’
- 4 R: *kore da to omotte, motsu* ((laughter))
 this CP QT think: and have
 ‘(he) thinks that it is, and (he) has (it)’
- 5⇒L: *te, ikkai* [*tonde,*
 and once jump: and
 ‘and, (he) jumps once and,’
- 6 R: [*ikkai wa,*
 once TP
 ‘once,’

R is going to make a new proposal (line 1). After an eight-second silence, R continues to propose the forthcoming sequence using the *-TE* form (lines 2 to 4). There are two signals that point to the end of R’s turn:

laughter and verb inflection (line 4). With regard to the verb inflection, ‘*motsu*’ (have), this is categorised as a ‘truncated form’ (*ikikirigata*) that “conforms to the predominant pattern of terminating [. . .] [due to] the occurrence of a predicate” (Tanaka (1999: 88)); e.g. Hayashi and Mori (1998)). These two features serve to end R’s turn here. Interestingly, despite R’s earlier closing utterance, the co-participant L hooks her utterance to the prior utterance through the isolated *TE* (line 5). She then expands her utterance, ‘*ikkaime tonde*’ ((he) jumps once and).

Sacks (1992) calls this deviation a ‘tying rule,’ which refers to an instance when “one piece of conversation is tied to another” (Sacks 1992: 322). Such a use is entirely different from the prototypical cases outlined above. These prototypical cases are constructed by the first participant’s production of the –*TE* form and such a typical use then triggers the co-participant to produce the isolated *TE*. On the other hand, in terms of this deviant example, there is no indication that the first participant invites the other participant to affiliate her utterance. Even in such a context the recipient L is going to connect with the first participant’s utterance through the isolated *TE*. This deviant use of isolated *TE* suggests that the clause-chaining *TE* is flexibly produced vis-a-vis the ongoing interactions.

Here is another example of a deviant case. The following excerpt is part of a conversation between another teacher and student (out group). They are in the midst of making a new proposal regarding the story:

(11) J3 (Teacher × Student)

- 1 R: *to*[*bikoe yoo to, shite*,
jump will QT do: and
‘(he) ’s going to jump and,’
- 2 L: [*muzukashi* ((*laughter*))
difficult
(she says to herself) ‘(it’s) difficult’
- 3⇒L: *te*, *oreru*
and fold
‘and (it) folds’
- 4⇒R: *te*, *poki* [*to*, *oreru*
and MIM QT fold
‘and, (it) folds’

- 5 L: [*a, orete,*
 oh fold: and
 ‘oh, (it) folds and,’
- 6 R: *orete,*
 fold: and
 ‘(it) folds and,’

R is going to start a new proposal about the story (line 1). At the same time as L says how difficult it is to construct a new proposal at this moment, her word ‘*muzukashii*’ (difficult) (line 2) overlaps with R’s prior utterance. L then begins a new proposal and takes her turn (line 3).

Triggered by the *-TE* form ‘*shite*’ (try and) (line 1), L produces the isolated *TE* (line 3). Following this she then makes a proposal in her use of ‘*oreru*’ (fold). This verb inflection is regarded as the truncated form as mentioned above. Despite the fact that L’s turn has ended, R hooks her utterance quite interestingly onto the prior utterance (line 3) through the production of isolated *TE* (line 4). She continues her utterance, ‘*poki tto oreru*’ ((it) folds) after producing this *TE*. This deviant use is equivalent to previous example (10). However, there is one difference from this example. In excerpt (10), remember that the recipient constructs a new proposal after the use of the isolated *TE*. On the other hand, the recipient R in excerpt (11) just repeats L’s prior utterance, ‘*te oreru*’ (and (it) folds). R’s utterance is not a complete repetition of L’s utterance; rather, R paraphrases an onomatopoeic item ‘*pokitto*’ (to imitate the sound that the stick folds). On the whole, R is going to hook onto L’s earlier utterance and will repeat the utterance through the isolated *TE*.⁴ This idea of hooking onto the prior utterance may suggest that this repetition is considered as part of the tying rule as well.⁵

To describe the overall structure of the deviation that I have herein discussed, the first speaker A constructs and finishes her turn through the truncated form. Though A’s ending her turn, the recipient B hooks her next utterance onto A’s prior turn through the isolated *TE*, and then constructs her forthcoming turn. This forthcoming turn can end in two alternative ways: adding a new proposal or repeating the prior speaker’s utterance. It is apparent that all three of these structures: the co-partici-

pants' continuation, the recipient's continuation and the recipient's deviation, are closely related to the recipient's action. On the other hand, this deviation is different from the previous two patterns listed above. The recipient creatively links her production with the prior utterance by employing the isolated *TE*.

Deviation

A: //

B: *TE*

(Isolation) → New Proposal or Repetition

// To Finish the Turn

To conclude, I have observed some deviant uses related to the isolated *TE* form. The traditional grammatical frameworks as mentioned earlier are based on one speaker's engagement. On the other hand, the isolated *TE* is tightly associated with the recipient's action and is performed only through the real interactions of co-participants. It might be difficult to generalise them within a clear-cut frame because conversation is a kind of 'chaos.' Under these circumstances the study has endeavored to discover the most solid available evidence: the isolated *TE* is only achieved vis-à-vis a collaborative process between co-participants; this form facilitates collaborative construction of storytelling between the participants.

6. Conclusion

I have revealed the interactional dimensions of the isolated *TE* surrounding the turn-taking system. Such dimensions contribute to the collaborative construction of storytelling. Further study should shed light on the grammaticalisation of the *-TE* form from both diachronic and synchronic views. Since this study has conducted conversations according to goal-oriented tasks, the findings must also be relevant for 'natural occurring conversation' (Sacks (1992)). However, I believe that this problem solving data might reflect various features of our daily conversation. In addition, the above observations of isolated *TE* reveal the flexibility surrounding the use of the *-TE* form as well as how this form is dynamically achieved

through people's interactions.

Notes

1 Abbreviations: CP, various forms of copula verb *be*; FP, final particle; MIM, mimetics; N, nominiser; OP, object particle; QP, question particle; QT, quotative particle; TP, topic particle (e.g. Hayashi (2003)). Transcription conventions: (,), continuing intonation; (?), rising intonation; (||), the points where overlapping talk starts and ends; ((())), transcriber's descriptions of events; (()), elliptical items; (:), stretching of the sound; (0.0), length of silence in tenths of a second; (=), latched utterances; (te), the clause-chaining *TE*; (te), the isolated *TE* (e.g. Hayashi (2003)).

2 Sacks (1992: 59) discusses the issue of a single sentence as follows: "if... it turns out that people can collaborate in the production of sentences — now, not of sentences that they're repeating, like the collaboration on an idiom — but collaborative production of new sentences, then there's a different sense in which the sentence is a unit of social organization — the sense in which a sequence of sentences is a unit of social organization."

3 The data is one of the corpus database called as 'Mister O. Corpus.' This is a cross-linguistic video corpus, collected under a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science for the project on 'Empirical and theoretical studies on culture, interaction, and language in Asia' (No. 15320054, directed by Sachiko Ide at the Japan Women's University). It consists of conversations, narratives, and talks during a goal-oriented joint task in Japanese, English, Korean, and Chinese.

4 Many repetitions were observed in our database.

5 Sacks (1992) also mentions 'repetition tying.'

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